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EDITORIAL REMARKS

This Issue

The authors of this issue's article, Joe and Barbara Grimes, are associated with the Wycliffe Bible Translators and the Summer Institute of Linguistics and are working among the Huichol Indians of whom they write. Their interesting paper provides us with a nice example of what alert, anthropologically minded Christian workers can do even though they have only a nodding acquaintance with anthropology. We should like to have more of this kind of article. The editor will be glad to consult with any who desire assistance in writing up such material in an anthropologically acceptable fashion. You who feel reluctant to write because of your unfamiliarity with anthropological jargon should not be concerned for anthropologists have derived much of their most valuable information from missionary and other non-anthropological sources. If this journal must depend only on professional Christian anthropologists for its material we will have little to publish. Let the work done for us by Joe and Barbara Grimes be an inspiration to you! We'll be looking for that article!

Next Year

The first issue of Volume II of Practical Anthropology will feature an article by Dale Kietzman on how a study of the folklore and mythology of a people can aid the missionary in acquiring a better understanding of the motivations and thought patterns of a foreign society. We anticipate that many of you who are working among nonwestern groups will find helpful material from Kietzman's pen.

We are also making arrangements to publish in serial form one of the two anthropological reports submitted by Bill and Marie Reyburn. The Reyburns are doing pioneer work of extremely great significance in the field of missionary anthropology. We hope to be able to include the first installment of their report in either the first or second number for next year.

Your Subscription

If you wish to enjoy these good things along with the rest of us, please renew your subscription as soon as possible; that is, of course, if you have not already done so. Some of you who intend to renew your subscription may have forgotten, due to the press of many responsibilities, to do so. If this be true, let this be a reminder. It will facilitate matters at this end of the line if we can have your renewal at the earliest possible moment.

We happen to know that a number of you have had a change of address without notifying this journal. We'll be happy to supply you with duplicate copies if you have failed to receive yours due to moving, but it will save time and postage if you can let us know as soon as possible. Thanks!

Your Letters

Many of you have written me from time to time making pertinent and helpful suggestions concerning Practical Anthropology as well as valuable comments and observations regarding some of the articles and Christianity and anthropology in general. The trouble is that these observations have been interwoven with personal matters in such a way that they are not suitable for publication. When you have comments which are of general interest for our readers, won't you please **write up** at least a part of your letter in such a way that we can publish it in Practical Anthropology?

Contributions

Contributions for the expenses of Practical Anthropology have not been solicited, but a number of you have voluntarily donated small amounts. We are grateful for this, for it is true that the subscriptions have not paid for the cost of launching publication. If you wish to help with the expenses of Practical Anthropology you may use the form on page 141.

INDIVIDUALISM AND THE HUICHOL CHURCH

Joe and Barbara Grimes

The Huichol Indians inhabit the southern Sierra Madre Occidental in the states of Nayarit and Jalisco, Mexico. They have been described ethnographically by Lumholtz¹, and Zingg,² and linguistically by McIntosh and Grimes.³ Roman Catholic missionary work dates from around the seventeenth century; Protestant work dates from 1941. There are seven or eight Christians in the tribe.

The Huichol are markedly individualistic. By individualism is meant in general the type of behavior which has wide cultural limits of acceptable variation, and consequent to the wide range of variation a low predictability of specific actions. This paper describes some of the more obvious elements of the individualistic complex as they occur in Huichol culture and their effect on practices of the Christian community. These features will be taken up one by one; their cultural manifestation will be discussed first; then their effect on the Huichol church.

The kinship group is one of the factors which limit individual action. In theory the kinship group consists of all people who have any common ancestor up to the ninth ascending generation. In practice, however, only people who know of some common ancestor consider themselves of the same kinship group. It is doubtful if common ancestors are ever traced beyond the fifth or sixth ascending generation. Customarily only people belonging to the same kinship group⁴ marry each other or settle on the same ranch.

Age is a second limiting factor. The civil and religious leaders are all over forty years of age. Younger men show definite reticence to tell stories or sing in the presence of their elders, though if they are performing and an older person joins their group they do not stop performing on his account. Older relatives frequently command the services of younger relatives.

Correlate to both kinship group and age limiting factors is the structure of the immediate family. Children live with their parents until they marry. A man customarily lives with his father-in-law's family for a year or more after marriage before going off to live where he likes. Customarily a son does not move very far away from his father as long as his father is alive. These three factors in the culture tend to limit individual action.

In residence pattern the Huichols consider themselves free to move wherever they like within a wide area subject, of course, to the restrictions already mentioned. Partly because of the poor soil and the necessity for changing maize fields each year, and partly because of inclination, a typical family moves once every two or three years. In 1941, when McIntosh first lived at the ranch, La Piedra Gorda, there were eleven Huichol families living there. At present there is only one family on the ranch, and all of the families living there in 1941 have moved elsewhere. Most are now on another ranch, where all have moved with two or three intermediate steps made independently. The father of one of the Christians moved three times during 1953. On one ranch the Huichol families each year move farther up the mountain on which the ranch is situated. They consider themselves as living on the same ranch as formerly, though one family of Huichols which remained at the foot of the mountain lives closer to the ranch where the authors lived than it does to some of the families on its own ranch.

The Huichol Christians have shown no tendency to group themselves apart into a Christian community, but have retained the pattern of freedom of movement. However, two of the Christians made plans to build their houses together on the same ranch in 1954, although they were not related to each other in such a way that they normally would have done so. Due to subsequent developments they were not able to carry out their plan. In this case it seemed that their relationship in Christ took precedence over their relationship--or rather lack of it--in the kinship group.

Visiting between persons or families is frequent and, especially near harvest time, is sporadically accompanied by gifts of food brought by the person visiting, though there is no rigid custom regarding exchange of gifts. Visits normally last less than a day. However, a person who feels inclined to prolong his visit may stay for several days. One family came to visit the authors regarding medical treatment and stayed for approximately two months. They built themselves a shelter and helped with the work of the ranch. Other visitors have stayed for two and three days. None gave indication of how long he planned to stay or when he planned to leave until he was ready to go.

Through this pattern of visiting the Gospel has been carried to other areas within the tribe. Whenever the oldest believer has time or feels inclined, he goes on a visit to a town two days by trail from his ranch. There he stays with his relatives, plays records in Huichol made by Gospel Recordings, Inc., reads portions of the Scriptures, and discusses the Gospel at length with his relatives and other visitors. He also witnesses to visitors who come to his ranch. There is no way of predicting who will come to visit or when they will arrive or leave, but the irregular visiting pattern has been the main channel of evangelization within the culture.

Story telling is fairly well developed in Huichol culture. Zingg⁵ collected stories translated into Spanish by his informants; the authors have a collection (unpublished) of two full hours of stories recorded on tape in Huichol. Stories include folklore and mythology.

Individualism in story telling takes the form of unpredictability of repetition. Stories are never told the same way twice. There is an overall pattern of folktale structure which involves the use of paragraph introducing morphemes and the narrative mode. Actions are frequently repeated by five characters in sequence (instead of three as in European tales). However, innovations are made on the spur of the moment, with the result that the exact words used are never predictable. At times even the

identity of principal characters is changed between tellings of a story, as when different species of grasshoppers are substituted for each other or the wolf in one telling becomes a coyote in the next telling.

The gospel of Mark and the epistles of John have been translated into Huichol and made available to the Christians, while other portions are still (December 1954) in too tentative a form for general release. It was at first expected that the Christians should memorize portions of Scripture as part of their instruction. However, due to the influence of individualism in the story-telling pattern such attempts failed; a verse was never repeated the same way twice. Synonyms were introduced in the repetition for words in the original; equivalent grammatical constructions of various kinds were substituted—for example, substitution of the narrative mode for the affirmative and vice versa; the order of words was changed. These changes were not of the same order as corrections of the accuracy or style of the translation, though such corrections, happily, came to light in the process as well. They were the same type of changes as occurred between different tellings of the same story and sometimes seemed to be made purely for variety. After several attempts to introduce Scripture memorization it was found that those who regularly read the Scriptures, especially the epistles of John, were perfectly familiar with the content of the portions. In the songs they composed the Scripture text appeared, though of course not in the same form in which the translation had been cast. The oldest believer, who was trying to improve his facility in writing, made up his own writing exercises without reference to the Scripture text, but which contained such a high proportion of quotations and allusions that it was evident that he had, in effect, rethought and reuttered the Scriptural message in detail. So, no further effort was made to promote the recitation of Scripture passages verbatim, and emphasis was put on the verse-by-verse understanding and exposition of passages, usually a paragraph or more at a time.

Songs sung for amusement or dancing are sung to the

accompaniment of violin or guitar or both. Some people are recognized as more proficient than others in composing songs, which they make up on occasion to commemorate or lampoon something, or often merely to provide amusement.

Songs are not sung the same way twice. However, as distinct from stories, the words remain relatively unchanged from singing to singing, though one singer's version of a song frequently differs from that of another singer. The characteristic treatment of songs is the rearrangement of lines in a verse. A quatrain may be sung one time abab, aab, abcd, cdaa, dcdd, with instrumental interludes between stanzas occurring as marked by commas. The next time the same song may be sung abcd, abcc, aacc, a, ddccdd, cd, ad. Songs of more complex structure or more lines are varied in different but analogous ways. Only one person sings at a time. He may or may not be playing an instrument or dancing as he sings; or he may be doing both.

The three older Christians have all composed songs about the Gospel. The first believer, 54 years old, has composed several. His wife composed one which was sung only a few times. His son composed two, one of which is sung frequently. The other was sung only a few times. These songs are of the same form as those used for amusement and are accompanied on instruments but are expressions of Christian truth or portions of Scripture set to music. Their Huichol character is attested by the observation that most unbelievers in the area also know the songs, and that one song was even learned and used in a Huichol ceremony in another area.

When the first believer heard his son's song, he made extensive additions and modifications of the words. Probably because of the factors of age and family relationship, the son now sings more or less his father's version of his own song.

The only song which has been introduced into the Christian hymnody is 'Jesus Loves Me.' Not much attention was paid to the song, and not much emphasis was put on it.

However, the oldest believer's four-year-old granddaughter picked it up, changed the rhythm and the tune to Huichol patterns, and sang it while playing. It is not sung at gatherings of Christians.

An attempt was made to encourage congregational singing as practiced in most Christian communities. It was expected that congregational singing would help unify the Christians and encourage others to join them as it has elsewhere. However, the uniform response of the Christians was passive, and they continued with their pattern of having one person sing to the accompaniment of instruments. One difficulty with congregational singing was that with no set form for the order of lines in a stanza and much repetition everyone felt compelled to sing in his own way, since he did not know how anyone else was going to sing the same song. As a result the basic Huichol pattern of one singer at a time has been retained in all gatherings of Christians. Sometimes one person continues on with the singing of a song when a previous singer stops.

In summary, the Christian Huichol community has retained regular Huichol patterns in regard to visiting, learning the Scriptures, and singing. The restrictions of the kinship group on the dwelling pattern have shown signs of modification to include the Christian family. The restrictions of age and immediate family relationship have given a place of prominence and respect to the older members of the Christian community, but have been modified in that younger members have shown no hesitation to pray in public in the presence of their elders, or to help in the instrumental accompaniment of songs.

The rate of acculturation of the Huichol tribe has in general been extremely slow. Certain features of the culture have tended to limit the incursion of features from other cultures. One such factor is the kinship organization and the concomitant endogamy within the kinship group. Marriages outside the kinship group are rare enough; marriages with non-Huichols are extremely rare except in the case of Huichol women who occasionally marry Cora men.

Another feature is the integration of religious, social, and civic organization to provide maximum participation and maximum coverage of all areas of life, with a resultant high degree of stability. Roman Catholicism, to the degree in which it has been accepted, has been regarded as an accretion added to the basic Huichol framework--in effect, a few more deities to be added to the list--so that a certain amount of Catholic forms are observable in the culture. Catholic influence is, however, rather superficial, and the Huichols apparently do not feel that it is inimical to cultural integrity.

Evangelical Christianity, on the other hand, has among its implications for the Huichols the destruction of the integrity of their religion. Pressure has been brought to bear on the Christians from time to time for this reason. However, paradoxical as it may seem, the Christians are respected members of the culture, whose advice is frequently sought on personal and civic matters.

It is not easy to understand why the strong acculturative influence of evangelical Christianity, with its destructive implications for a significant portion of the activity carried on within the culture, should be at all tolerated by a people noted for their successful resistance of Western influence over a long period of time. One reason so little resistance has been met may lie in the type of tolerance which a complex of permitted individualistic behavior in diverse areas of cultural activity demands. After a period of initial disapproval, members of the culture have observed that the Christians continue to participate fully in the social and civic activity of the group. Coupled with this is the recognition, heard from many sources, that the Huichol religion does not completely fulfil its aims of providing health for people and livestock and insuring good crop yields. The Christians are not yet fully instructed in the Scriptures, but their experience points toward an eventual integration and completeness of their Christian lives, which in the thinking of the non-Christians may be regarded as a satisfactory and permissible substitute for the abandoned religion. Because

of the retention of social and civic ties, the life of the Christian community remains firmly rooted within the Huichol culture. The Gospel has been propagated within the culture rather than outside the culture in that the missionaries have concentrated their work on a few who have told the Gospel message to many more. Therefore, it is possible that Christianity may be accepted as a valid substitute within the culture for the Huichol religion, rather than as a destructive influence from outside the culture.

NOTES

1. Carl Lumholtz. "The Huichol Indians of Mexico", Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. X. 1898.
_____. "Symbolism of the Huichol Indians", Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. III, 1900, pp. 1-228.
_____. "Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians, Vol. III, 1904, pp. 279-327.
2. Robert Mowry Zingg, The Huichols: Primitive Artists, New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1938.
3. John B. McIntosh, "Huichol Phonemes", International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. II, 1945, pp. 31-35.
 Juan B. McIntosh y José Grimes, Niuqui 'Iquisicayari: Vocabulario Huichol-Castellano, Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 1954.
4. Not a unilateral group. The Huichol have no clans or sibs. (Ed.)
5. Zingg, op. cit.

REVIEWS

Notes and Queries on Anthropology. Sixth Edition, A Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951, 403 pp., Price 28s.

Outline of Cultural Materials. Rev. Ed., George P. Murdock and Others, New Haven: Cross Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1945, 56 pp., Price \$1.00.

These two books are reviewed together because both are used as field work guides by many anthropologists. To the extent that both can be used in this way the books are similar, but the similarities are incidental to the primary purposes. The authors of Notes and Queries specify that the book is intended to serve as a handbook for the trained field anthropologist, and also to stimulate accurate observation and the recording of information by anyone in contact with foreign peoples and cultures. Since the first edition of Notes and Queries was published in 1874 it has proven its value in aiding missionaries and other non-anthropological field workers to better understand the people with which they are in contact. Due to the great range of cultural forms and functions even a trained anthropologist easily may forget to observe significant aspects of behavior. Notes and Queries is designed to serve both the professional ethnographer and the untrained investigator.

The primary purpose of the Outline is different. It has been designed primarily as a device for classifying the vast amount of descriptive material in the Human Relations Area Files of the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University. The result is the most comprehensive outline of cultural phenomena that has been devised, and it is for this reason that so many anthropologists have found it useful as a memory and organization aid in field work.

A further examination of the books will better indicate their comparative values and limitations. As its title indicates, the Outline is an outline, whereas Notes and Queries is written more like a textbook. Notes and Queries

includes a valuable exposition of field work techniques. Especially important for the student of kinship systems is a complete discussion of the genealogical technique. The chapters on social structure, social life of the individual, political organization, economics, ritual and belief, knowledge and tradition, language, and material culture are of considerable value. These chapters provide brief definitions of anthropological terms, concise summaries of anthropological concepts and information, and questions which serve as a checklist of features the observer should watch for. In some respects the book amounts to a textbook of cultural anthropology. An example from the section on the family will illustrate.

A group may be described as a joint family when two or more lineally related kinsfolk of the same sex, their spouses and offspring, occupy a single homestead and are jointly subject to the same authority or a single head. The term extended family should be used for the dispersed form corresponding to a joint family.

....It should be ascertained in which member of the family authority is vested and to what extent authority can be used. Has a man right of life and death over any member of his family, or can he sell or pawn any member of his family into slavery? Does authority wax or wane in old age?...

In the reviewer's opinion two limitations on the use of Notes and Queries should be mentioned. The most serious is the lack of treatment of some important things. Those who are interested in physical anthropology and archaeology will find only very brief sections, but those who are interested in the extremely important phenomena of cultural contact and change will find almost nothing. There is no section on this area which is so important to the interests of the missionary or administrator.

The other limitation applies to differences of terminology between British and American anthropology. The field worker who has had his training under American anthropologists, or who has little anthropological training and uses

both the Outline and Notes and Queries will at some points be confused by a conflict of terminology. An example of such conflict is to be seen, apparently, in the definitions of the extended family.

The big advantage of the Outline over Notes and Queries is its comprehensive listing of virtually everything the worker might wish to investigate. For the professional anthropologist, then, it is an excellent guide, but for one unfamiliar with anthropological usages it is more difficult to use than Notes and Queries. An entry from the section on social organization, one of about 47 categories treated, will indicate how the Outline differs from the other book.²

Extended Family (a group of unilinearly related males or females, plus their spouses and children and minus their migrant siblings of opposite sex, who reside in a common household)--composition; descent (cf. 401); origin; integration with sib and community: residence rules (cf. 383); mode of life (e.g., migratory, settled); residence (e.g., long house, compound, kraal); land holdings (cf. 362); distinguishing characteristics; common cult (cf. 348, 5573); reciprocal relations of members; organization (e.g., chiefship and succession, mechanism for adjusting intragroup grievances); ingroup solidarity (cf. 43); relations with similar groups (e.g., hostility, cooperation); etc. Cf. 381, 4021.

It will be noted that even the non-anthropologist will find the Outline useful, especially if he follows through on the cross-references. There may be difficulty with a few of the terms, but other than that the material is clear enough.

It is apparent that Notes and Queries and the Outline complement one another to some degree. Outline of Cultural Materials provides a complete skeleton and Notes and Queries in Anthropology contributes most of the flesh. Probably the most satisfactory procedure for the investigator is to take both books into the field with him. The

reviewer will welcome the comments of those who have used either or both of these handbooks.

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LETTERS AND BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Understanding and Missionary Effectiveness

In your article in the last issue (PA1.112) you made the statement: "There seems to be a significant correlation between the degree of understanding the missionary has for a people and the effectiveness of his efforts." While I agree with you wholeheartedly, I think a documented study of the subject would be desirable, even though it involves subjective and qualitative factors hard to evaluate.

Joe Grimes
Heroes 53
Mexico 3, D. F.

NOTES AND NEWS

Smalley Assumes New Responsibilities

William A. Smalley, who has just returned from several years of missionary and linguistic work in French Indo-China, is now working in the Translations Department of the American Bible Society and teaching anthropology at Shelton College. His major responsibilities with the American Bible Society are checking translation manuscripts, keeping the projected translation work in Haitian Creole and in Simplified French moving ahead, collecting material for a book on language and culture as a part of a program for training missionary translators and translation instructors in the problems of language and culture which the translator faces, and working up a course in New Testament Greek which uses the latest pedagogical devices of modern language teaching as employed since the war. The second project will involve a trip to Haiti.

One day a week Smalley goes to Shelton College in Ringwood, N. J. to teach general anthropology and general linguistics. He also hopes to work on his Ph.D. thesis, which will be The Structure of the Kamhu Language. Recent publications by Smalley are Vietnamese for Missionaries (mimeographed, 600 pages, with 16 hours of tape recordings) and "A Problem in Orthography Preparation" in a recent issue of The Bible Translator.

Anthropological News From Wheaton

The anthropology club at Wheaton College, formerly known as the Culture Vultures, has been renamed the Wheaton Anthropological Society. A recent meeting featured a debate on whether Christmas observance should be introduced into nonwestern cultures. Those who favored the introduction won. Three faculty members, Dr. Lamberta Voget, Dr. Frank Neuberg, and Mr. Paul Bechtel, served as judges.

During the fall semester the Foreign Missions Fellowship at Wheaton sponsored two panels of anthropological

interest. At the first meeting, Dr. Robert Stone, linguistics professor; Mr. John Ellenberger, an anthropology major; Mr. Fred Lasse, a missionary to Africa; and James O. Buswell, III, anthropology instructor discussed linguistic and cultural problems in missions. The second panel, on marriage problems on the mission field, was especially lively. Dr. Eugene M. Harrison, missions professor, Mr. Frank Houser of sociology, Mr. Lasse, and Mr. Buswell were the participants.

PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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With the last issue of Vol. III (Nov.-Dec. 1956) the editors of PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY are instituting a new policy of indexing the volumes annually. This index will be published in normal fashion at the end of the volume. To bring the indexing up to date, however, we are issuing this supplement for the first two volumes together.

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